



BRILL

The Quatrefoil Plan in Ottoman Architecture Reconsidered in Light of the "Fethiye Mosque" of Athens

Author(s): Machiel Kiel

Source: *Muqarnas*, Vol. 19 (2002), pp. 109-122

Published by: BRILL

MACHIEL KIEL

THE QUATREFOIL PLAN IN OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE RECONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF THE “FETHIYE MOSQUE” OF ATHENS

This type, almost certainly a creation of the Ottoman capital is best expressed in the great mosques of Istanbul, but it also occurs in Algiers, throughout the Balkans, in Syria, and even in Muhammad Ali’s Cairo. It does not occur in Morocco, Iran, India or Central Asia because this type is tied to Ottoman supremacy. It serves an Islamic function, but its architectural forms signify a specific empire.

Oleg Grabar, “The Iconography of Islamic Architecture.”

Ottoman architecture celebrated some of its greatest triumphs in three prominently sited Istanbul mosques—the Şehzade Mehmed mosque (1543–48), the Sultan Ahmed I or Blue mosque (1609–17), and the Yeni Cami (begun in the 1590’s, completed in 1666)—built according to the quatrefoil or clover-leaf cross-in-square plan. This plan type gained great popularity, and representative examples of it can be seen from Diyarbakır in southeastern Anatolia to the city of Tunis and the island of Djerba at the extreme western boundary of the Ottoman world, with at least three examples in Greece as an intermediary stage. When in 1833 Muhammad ‘Ali started work on his enormous “Alabaster Mosque” on top of the citadel hill in Cairo he also chose the quatrefoil plan. When in the 1970’s it was decided that Republican Ankara was to have an “imperial mosque” the quatrefoil plan was once again chosen, showing its unbroken appeal throughout the ages.

Over more than half a century a number of scholars have put forward theories about the plan’s origin, but the definitive answer had still to be found. This essay reconsiders the elusive and controversial sources of the plan type along with later versions, after considering some of the arguments about its origin in the secondary literature. If we disregard the somewhat crude formulation of the Dutch Orientalist H. J. Kramers, who declared the Şehzade mosque to be “two Hagia Sophias interlocked and fused together,” a variety of possible hypotheses remain. In reviewing them

we shall see how they influenced each other, what they left out, and where their arguments go astray. Finally we will suggest what we think are the true origins of this remarkable plan.

In 1953, the Swiss-trained Turkish scholar Ulya Vogt-Göknil saw the plan of the Şehzade mosque first of all as resulting from a confrontation with the Hagia Sophia and noted:

With him [Sinan], . . . Turkish architecture reaches the summit of its development. Around 1548, forty years after the mosque of Beyezid II, he again went back to the Hagia Sophia for his first really great building, the Şehzade mosque. . . . Within fifteen years Sinan created three completely new variants of Hagia Sophia’s plan-scheme. In the Şehzade mosque the bilateral symmetry of Hagia Sophia was transformed into a radially symmetrical one, in other words a quatrefoil plan.¹

Six years later the Turkish art historian Behçet Ünsal found a very different origin for the plan of the Şehzade mosque, suggesting, though not in so many words, that the great Byzantine church had nothing to do with it:

[The plan] of the Şehzade Mosque, on the other hand—a central dome surrounded by four half-domes—has its forerunner, not in Istanbul, but at Maraş in the country of the Dulkadir family, namely the Ulucami at Elbistan repaired by Alaüddevle in 1479–1515. Turkish architects worked for a century and a half on this type of building. The master himself, when he began his design for the Şehzade Mosque, aimed at giving monumental form on the lines of the old Turkish buildings he had seen in his youth and, while introducing innovations to the capital, yet maintaining ties with tradition.²

By the “century and a half” of building experience Ünsal evidently meant experimenting with the central domed mosque to which a half-dome, housing the mihrab, had been added, as in Mehmed II’s old Fatih mosque (1463–70) in Istanbul and the Yahşi Bey *zâwiya* (convent) mosque (1441) in Tire in western Anatolia,

or the Beylerbey *zāwiya* mosque (1428–29) in Edirne.³ Although Ünsal pointed to the Elbistan connection, he did not develop it further. He also seems to have forgotten that the young Sinan could not have seen Elbistan. While marching with the army in the campaign of the two Iraqs (‘Iraqayn) in 1534–35, he did not pass through Elbistan at all. The army marched much further to the north, via Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum to Tabriz and Hamadan in Iran and from there to Baghdad, and after a second campaign in Iran in 1535 returned by way of Diyarbakır, Urfa, Halep and Adana.⁴ The closest Sinan came to Elbistan was five full days’ journey away.

In 1970, Metin Sözen took a great step forward with the publication of an article which introduced a mosque built using a quatrefoil plan, but, in contrast to Elbistan, clearly dated. It was the mosque of Sinan Pasha in the small town of Hacı Hamza in northern Anatolia, a way station on the road from Tosya to Osmancık and Merzifon. This mosque was built in 1506–7 and then unfortunately ruined in an earthquake and more or less repaired in a different form. After Sözen had published his remarks, it was replaced by a wholly new building.

In the same study Sözen pointed to the existence of a similar building in the vicinity of Hacı Hamza.⁵ This is the mosque of Oğuzköy in the district (*nāhiye*) of Kargı, which was apparently built a decade or two later than the Hacı Hamza mosque. Sözen only reported the existence of the Oğuzköy building; he did not provide details or a plan. I studied the building in detail in 1998. According to local tradition, it was a foundation of the sixteenth-century vizier Çoban Mustafa Pasha (d. 1529) known for his huge complexes (*külliyeler*) in Gebze, between Istanbul and İzmit, and in Eskişehir. His buildings in Oğuzköy originally included a khan and a hammam and must have been intended as a halting station on the Kastamonu–Tosya–Merzifon highway. The khan and hammam were swept away during a flood some thirty years ago, but they were well remembered by the local population. The stability of the mosque was seriously affected by the same flood and a landslide that destroyed the other buildings. To keep it standing, it needed the help of enormous buttresses on three sides.

The buildings of Çoban Mustafa Pasha in Oğuzköy are not mentioned in the waqf section of the 1530 census (*tahrîr*) of northern Anatolia. However, as the basic data for this “proto-statistical” survey of the whole empire were collected in 1520–21, in the very first years

of the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, the buildings must be later.⁶ The vizier’s little complex in Oğuzköy, therefore, must be dated between 1522–23 and 1528–29. The mosque shows a truncated version of the quatrefoil plan. It has a central dome and three half-domes resting on two, instead of four, piers. The mosque is built of carefully executed cloisonnée, but as a whole it conveys a rustic impression. It is certainly the work of a provincial master. For architectural history it is of importance only as an early example of the plan, which, judging by the number of examples, must have enjoyed considerable popularity in these north Anatolian districts.

A year after Sözen, Godfrey Goodwin first published his classic *History of Ottoman Architecture*. Goodwin picked up where Ünsal left off, at the mosque of Elbistan, which he studied himself. Goodwin concluded rightly that Ünsal had evidently never actually been in Elbistan.⁷ He noted: “At some time in the reign of Bayezid II, between 1479 and 1515 the Ulu Cami was rebuilt at Elbistan in the territory of the Dulkadir family, southwest of Malatya. . . . This mosque is evidence— but in no way as conclusive as Ünsal asserts— of the emergence of the quatrefoil plan in Anatolia prior to Sinan’s building of Şehzade. Indeed the quatrefoil plan existed in Central Asia long before.”⁸ The latter thought is not further worked out, but then Goodwin introduces a very interesting link, pointing to the works of the first grand vizier of Sultan Süleyman, Piri Mehmed Pasha, who built a number of interesting mosques and masjids:

At Hasköy on the Golden Horn, he built his major mosque, which is now a delapidated tobacco warehouse; it was heavily restored in the nineteenth century. It was built on a grand scale (in 930/1523, the year of his fall) and was the first quatrefoil mosque in Istanbul. This centralized, four-leaf-clover plan was the accepted climax and perfection of the ideal Ottoman mosques which all the previous architects had been led towards and which only Sinan was to eclipse. It was ante-dated by the mosque of Fatih Pasha at Diyarbakır, built between 1518 and 1520, perhaps in the winter when the army was idle in its quarters. . . . To Diyarbakır came an unknown architect who, prior to his patron’s death in 1521, was to achieve the Büyük Mehmet or Fatih Pasha, the first centralized Ottoman mosque, with four semi-domes and not mere vaults.⁹

Goodwin evidently did not know Metin Sözen’s article and therefore did not know of the Hacı Hamza, which was fifteen years older. In his description of the Şehzade



Fig. 1. Oğuzköy (Kargı/Tosya district). Mosque of Çoban Mustafa Pasha, 1520's. Photo: M. Kiel 1998.

mosque, Goodwin totally rejected the influence of the Hagia Sophia, connecting it instead, via the Piri Pasha mosque in Hasköy, with Diyarbakır:

In November 1534 his sultan commanded the building of a great complex at Şehzadebaşı in honour of the prince [Mehmed]. . . . Sinan made no attempt to excel Hagia Sophia but was absorbed by the concept of the centralized dome and turned to a plan like that of Fatih Pasha at Diyarbakır or Piri Pasha at Hasköy, and the ancient tradition of which these mosques' form was then the climax.¹⁰

In 1981, ten years after Goodwin's book was published, Sauermost and Von der Mülbe published their monumental work on the mosques of Istanbul. In their description of the Şehzade mosque they point to parallels with contemporary Italian Renaissance architecture but exclude direct influence. Then they offer a much broader explanation of the origin of the plan,

linking it to older concepts like that of Hagia Sophia, or an Armenian background, with Ünsal's, Sözen's and Goodwin's ideas:

Early medieval quatrefoil buildings in Armenia could have inspired the idea of ordering the vaulting system of the Hagia Sophia in a cross-shape because the oldest preserved mosque showing this vaulting concept still stands in Diyarbakır in eastern Anatolia, then a garrison near Armenia. The thought could also have come via the many Byzantine cross-in-square churches. In 1413–21 Sultan Mehmed I erected a mosque in the town of Dimetoka, 40 km south of Edirne, following this plan, albeit without half-domes. . . . The Fatih Paşa Camii in Diyarbakır (1518–22) departs from the vaulting system of the Hagia Sophia and also brings in the four radial half-domes. The inner space, however, remains old-fashioned and primitive. After one or two successor buildings the new trend ended for a time. Then in 1523 Grand Vizier Piri Mehmet Paşa brought the type to Istanbul.

Sinan must have known his now profaned mosque in Hasköy on the northern shore of the Golden Horn.¹¹

It has to be added that the Dimetoka mosque of Mehmed I (1413–21) does not fit into this otherwise enlightening synthesis. In the sixteenth-century *tahrîr defters* this mosque appears as a foundation of Yıldırım Bayezid (r. 1389–1402). Today it appears as a cheaply executed quatrefoil plan, with four massive piers carrying no domes and half-domes, but crudely executed dome-like vaults of wood. Ayverdi, after careful study of the building by one of his assistants, concluded that the original plan must have been very different: two piers, supporting two big domes over a central nave and two cradle vaults over each of the lateral naves.¹² In 1668, the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi had remarked that the covering of this mosque was made of wood. Recently the dendrochronological work of Peter Kuniholm and Lee Striker has established without any doubt that the oak used in the upper part of the building was cut in 1419. The enormous beams carrying the vaults date from 1439. The great inscription over the central entrance of the mosque gives the year 823 (1420); the one over the lateral entrance says 824 (1421). The conclusion is simple: Bayezid's mosque remained without vaulting at his death in 1402–3 and his son Mehmed completed it with a rather small budget, but had his name written on the inscriptions, and ignored the work of his predecessor. In the same manner he had completed the famous Eski Cami in nearby Edirne, which was begun by Mehmed's brother, Amir Süleyman, and continued by his successor Musa Çelebi; it was completed in one year by Mehmed I, who is the only ruler whose name appears on the inscriptions.¹³ The wood of 1439 is connected with a major repair. The Dimetoka mosque is thus not an early example of the quatrefoil plan.

In his *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi* (1986), the veteran Turkish art historian Oktay Aslanapa picks up where Ünsal left off. He emphasizes the interest Turkish architects showed in the half-dome from the time of Sultan Murad II and through the buildings constructed during the reigns of his sons—Mehmed II followed by Bayezid II—in the new centers of Turkish architecture, Diyarbakır and Elbistan, until under Selim I the centralized plan with the four half-domes was finally conceived. It should perhaps be remembered that the ruling house of Elbistan was the Türkmen dynasty of Dulkadir (Dhu'l-Kadr) and that Diyarbakır had been one of the most important centers of the equally

Turkish dynasty of the Akkoyunlu. Aslanapa correctly remarks that the inscription of 637 (1239) on the Elbistan mosque, mentioning Amir Mübarizuddin Cavli and the Rum Seljuk ruler Gıyasüddin Keyhüsrev, was taken from somewhere else and placed in the masonry of the Dulkadirid mosque.¹⁴

In his description of the Şehzade mosque, Aslanapa points to the direct influence of buildings in Diyarbakır and Elbistan:

Taking the problem of the half-dome in hand for the first time and setting aside the plan of the Hagia Sophia and the Bayezid Mosque, Mimar Sinan achieved in this work [the Şehzade], the ideal of a four-half-domed centrally planned building, thereby realizing the dream of the architects of the Renaissance. Upon seeing the Ulu Cami of Elbistan and the Fatih Pasha Mosque in Diyarbakır Sinan must have recognized the potential of the four-half-dome plan as incorporated in these two buildings and used it to create something magnificent.¹⁵

Aslanapa, like Ünsal, did not realize that Sinan could not himself have been in Elbistan.

In 1987, a year after Aslanapa's great survey, Aptullah Kuran published a major work on Sinan, in which inescapably he also deals with the emergence of the quatrefoil plan.¹⁶ Kuran skips over Elbistan without comment but summarizes the role Diyarbakır might have played as follows:

I consider the Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan a direct descendant of the Old Fatih [Mehmed II] Mosque. Likewise, the Şehzade Mehmed has a similar kinship with the Bayezid [II]. In these relationships both Sinan mosques emulate the older ones with one significant difference: their two-domed side units flanking the central domed space are surmounted by half-domes. In the design of the Şehzade Mehmed, one other mosque could have played a significant role. This is the Fatih Paşa in Diyarbakır which Sinan must have seen and studied during the Two Iraks Campaign when the Ottoman army rested for three weeks in Diyarbakır. Built by Beylerbeyi Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa between 1516 and 1520, the Fatih Paşa's centrally domed superstructure with a half-dome on each side and a small dome at each corner could have provided the inspiration for the Şehzade Mehmed.¹⁷

Forty years after her first study, Vogt-Göknil, in a major new work, again returned to the Şehzade: "The combination of a dome and three or four half-domes was not new. It had already been realized in the fourth and the fifth century in monastery churches in Sohag, Upper Egypt, and in the church of San Lorenzo in

Milan. The same combination was later used in the great Romanesque churches of Cologne (St. Maria im Kapitol, Gross St. Martin, and others). But in none of these buildings do the four piers, carrying the dome, stand free."¹⁸ She then points to "some mosques from the first half of the 16th century, in Çankırı, Elbistan, and Diyarbakır," and suggests that Sinan might have seen them during the campaigns to Iraq and Iran.¹⁹ Elbistan has to be ruled out, as mentioned earlier. The Çankırı mosque is from 1558 and thus also has to be ruled out, but as a whole Vogt-Göknil's comparative framework greatly enriches our understanding of the problem. It should be added, however, that in the grand church of Maria im Kapitol in Cologne the main central dome is carried by four free-standing piers, but this, of course, does not make this church from the year 1030 a remote ancestor of our mosque type.

In a fine new synthesis of Sinan's work, another veteran Turkish art historian, Doğan Kuban, proposed a wholly different solution to the problem of the origin of the plan. Accusing foreign historians of art of creating a "myth" based on "purely superficial observation," he boldly states:

In large domed structures, a fully symmetrical support system is always an ideal. In the course of world architecture, numerous domed buildings have been constructed with centralized plans. Ottoman architects, who consistently used the dome as the covering element, were bound to employ this scheme at some point. In Şehzade Sinan gave this symmetrical scheme, also used by Renaissance architects, a shape in conformity with the traditions of Ottoman architecture.²⁰

This is a valid line of argument, but in this particular case does not explain everything. As Grabar remarked in the quotation that begins this article, the plan was not used in Iran or Mughal India or in the Maghrib (or in Mamluk Syria and Egypt, one might add), although the architecture of these countries made frequent use of domes for covering spaces. If Kuban's view is correct, then the Safavids, Mughals, and Mamluks would also have arrived at the quatrefoil plan. In fact they did not.

We can now see a line of development more clearly than before. Elbistan has to be skipped as a direct source for Sinan's work, but in one way or another may have played a more general role in the background. The direct line seems to run from Diyarbakır to Şehzade. The existence of a mosque using the same plan in 1506 in Hacı Hamza near Tosya, which is not

taken into account by anyone except Sözen, indicates, however, that the plan is older. It supports those who would have Elbistan play an important (if indirect) role. The Elbistan building remains very problematic because no secure date can be found for it. In his article "Elbistan," Mehmet Taşdemir noted that the years between 1490 and 1505 were a flourishing period for Elbistan. Alaüddeve, the ruler who according to Ünsal had the mosque "repaired," is reported to have built two mosques and one madrasa in Elbistan. In 1505, the Safavids took the town and destroyed it, whereupon the capital of the Dulkadir principality (*beylik*) was moved to Maraş. Under Ali Bey (1515–22), the successor of Alaüddeve, it was moved to Elbistan, where Ali Bey inaugurated new building activity.²¹ Is the mosque in its present form the product of a repair by Ali Bey? In his carefully written monograph on the Dulkadir beylik, Refet Yinanç (who is himself from Elbistan) made clear that it is not at all certain which of the old mosques of Elbistan is the one rebuilt (or reconstructed) by Alaüddeve, who indeed appears to have been an enthusiastic builder.²² Thus the Elbistan mosque, although important, is not a good starting point for studying the great buildings in Istanbul.

The Abdurrahman Pasha mosque in Tosya in northern Anatolia, built, according to its inscription, in 992 (1584), brings us back to the area of Hacı Hamza, where the oldest firmly dated example of the quatrefoil plan stood. The plan must have been particularly popular in that area. Another example is the Ulu Cami of Çankırı, built, according its inscription, in 1557–58.²³ Nowhere in Anatolia or the Balkans is there such a concentration of examples of the plan as in northern and central Anatolia, the ancient province of Paphlagonia. This is no coincidence: in the same area, and in the adjacent districts of Amasya, Merzifon, Tokat, and further south, there is a long tradition of covering a square space with a central dome resting on four free-standing supports. The way the supports are placed is the same as in the quatrefoil mosques. All buildings in this tradition are of wood and all have been very little studied. It was particularly favored for the congregational halls (*cem evi*) of the Alevis, a Shi'ite sect prominent in central and northern Anatolia, which were built half underground to escape the punitive eye of the Sunni Muslims. Since the 1980's, when the Alevis emerged into the open, the old *cem evi*s were rapidly replaced by new constructions. Günkut Akın has studied some of them and published a particularly



Fig. 2. Tosya. Abdurrahman Pasha's Mosque, 1584. The now vanished mosque of Thebes, Greece, 1667/68 closely followed this plan and building type. Photo: M. Kiel 1998.

fine example from Yahyalı near Çorum. Nezh Başgelen has published some cruder examples north of Malatya and mentioned having come across dozens of them in the villages of the same district, none of them studied.²⁴

Until recently, when it was replaced by a new structure in much the same style, the main hall of the *selamlık*, which was a hall of this kind, stood on Mount Alnus, northeast of Tokat. It was the central place of worship of the Hubyar Alevis and is many centuries old. Hıdır Temel, the grandson of the last Hubyar Dede, now living in Cologne, possesses a large collection of Ottoman sultanic orders, *hüccets*, and other state papers recording the property of the *tekke* (dervish convent) through the ages. The oldest is from the early years of Sultan Süleyman's reign (1520–66), the newest from the first years of the Republic. The village mosque of the Hubyar center also shows the same plan

and construction. Characteristic is the great wooden dome in the center of the building. It is a sophisticated structure called a *kırlangıç kubbe* in Turkish, *Lanternedach* in German, and "lantern roof" in English. This type of roofing is very old and widespread. It was known in China of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). A good example of it from the Ming period, dating from 1444, was taken from the Temple of Wisdom Chih-hua ssu in Beijing and can now be seen in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The Chinese term for the vault is "Well of Heaven Ceiling" (*G'ien ching*), a well from which heavenly spirits and brightness come down to those assembled below. This symbolism would fit very well in the Alevi context, but the connection is, of course, difficult to prove. The *kırlangıç kubbe* is well known in northern Pakistan and used for village mosques as well as for larger rooms in houses. It can be found in Caucasia, in Georgia, and Azerbaijan. In

the Sivas province, in Bingöl, and Muş the *kırlangıç kubbe* on four free-standing supports is reportedly widespread.²⁵ In the old houses of Erzurum it was used to cover the kitchen, the most important room in the house.²⁶ All this implies that, in addition to a Byzantine or Armenian source behind the Ottoman quatrefoil plan suggested in the literature, one might consider old Anatolian and Asian building traditions, with the wooden *kırlangıç kubbe* on four free-standing supports as the element providing the initial spark. The unknown architects of Hacı Hamza, Elbistan, and Diyarbakır (or earlier works which have not come down to us) then translated the idea from wood into stone, a well-known development. Via Diyarbakır it reached Sinan, who then brought it to its ultimate perfection.

One other mosque built according to the quatrefoil plan, which is mentioned rather frequently in the literature, is regarded as possibly its oldest representative. This is a mosque in the center of old Athens, which bears the name Fethiye (Conquest) mosque. Athens was added to the Ottoman dominions in 1456, and in 1458 Sultan Mehmed II himself visited it for several days, as we are told by his Greek panegyrist Kritoboulos and by the Athenian chronicler Chalkokondylas, both contemporaries to the event. For more than a generation the Athens mosque has been mentioned in the teaching of Ottoman architecture at Istanbul University as the oldest of the group. If true the building is of utmost importance, and sets us on a track very different from eastern Anatolia.

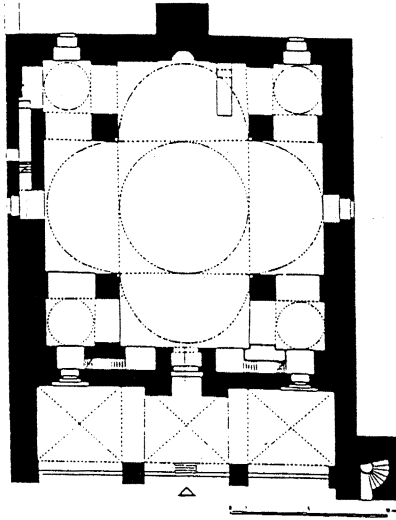
The building was first introduced to the scholarly world by two well-known Greek art historians of the past generation, Anastasis Orlandos and Andreas Xyngopoulos,²⁷ and made known in Turkey by Semavi Eyice.²⁸ In 1960, in the first of his two great monographs on the monuments and urban development of Athens, which were later to become the standard works on the subject, Ioannis Travlos stated that the Fethiye mosque of Athens was a foundation of the conquering sultan and its construction had to be placed immediately after the conquest in 1456. In his later work he stuck to this opinion.²⁹ Thirteen years later, in 1973, the mosque was studied in detail by the indefatigable Ayverdi, who also offered a detailed plan and section. He called the mosque “Fatih Camii” and included it without much ado into his work on the architecture of the time of the Conqueror.³⁰ Aslanapa also incorporated it in his 1986 book as work from the time of Mehmed II,³¹ as did Nusret Çam in 2000,

in his luxuriously produced work on Ottoman architecture outside Turkey.³²

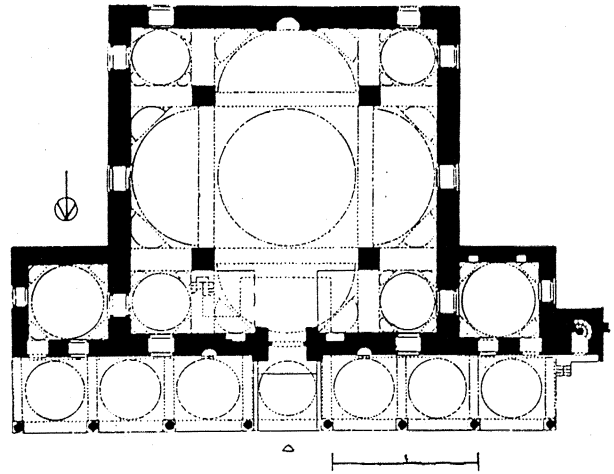
In 1991 Eyice came back to the Fethiye mosque in Athens, again remarking that the name of the building suggested that it was from the time of the conquest of Athens and its patron was Fatih Sultan Mehmed. It could, however, also date from the reconquest of Athens, after the Venetian occupying force (September 1687–March 1688) had been driven away. Both Eyice and Ayverdi noted the very late and un-Ottoman features of the mosque, which would point to the seventeenth or even the eighteenth century, rather than the fifteenth. Aslanapa declared that the five-domed portico with round arches was added later. But Eyice concluded that “if the mosque is indeed from the time of the Conqueror, that is, from the mid fifteenth century, then it is a very important building for the history of Turkish architecture.³³ Important it indeed is, but it is not from the fifteenth century and therefore not the oldest one known, but simply a seventeenth-century trend-follower. The answer to the question of its date is found in the sixteenth-century *tahrîr* defters of the sanjak of Eğriboz, a valuable category of source material that is hopelessly neglected by most architectural historians.

The oldest preserved *tahrîr* of the sanjak of Eğriboz containing Athens is from 1506. According to this source, the town of Athens then had (disregarding the garrison of 75 men in the Acropolis castle) 1,716 Christian and only one Muslim households. According to the next *tahrîr*, in 1521 it had 2,286 Christian households and 11 Muslim households. These numbers allow us to conclude that in the lower town of Athens in the first three-quarters of the century there was no need at all for a relatively large and sophisticated mosque. The only mosque mentioned in the records is the famous Parthenon, at that time a Friday mosque serving the needs of the garrison in the Acropolis citadel.

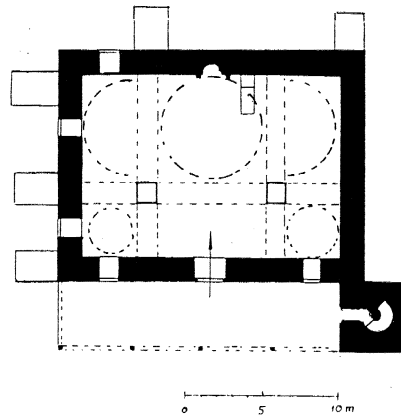
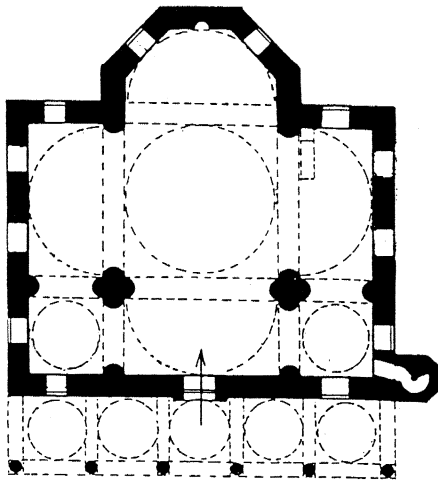
The 1540 register is the first to mention Muslim buildings in the lower town. In addition to the Citadel mosque of Athens (*câmi-i ‘kal‘e-i Atina*), it mentions the maşîd of Yunus Voyvode and an elementary school (*mu‘allimhâne*) of Mehmed Voyvode. The 1570 register shows that Islam was making inroads among the Athenians—by then the town had 57 Muslim households. The waqf section of the same register shows that the increase in the number of Islamic buildings ran parallel to an increase in the number of Muslim inhabitants. First comes the only mosque of the town,



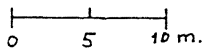
Elbistan, Ulu Camii, 1490-1505, after Sözen



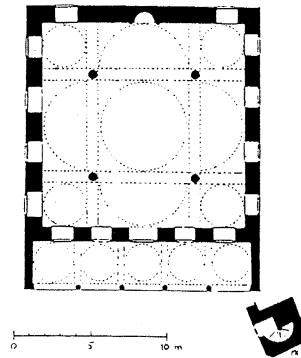
Diyarbakır, Fatih Paşa Camii, 1518-20, after Sözen



Oğuzköy (Kargı) Mosque of Çoban Mustafa Paşa, 1522-28. M.K. 2001



Tosya, Abdurrahman Paşa Camii, 1584. M.K. 2001



Athens. "Fethiye" Mosque, 1668-70

Fig. 3. (All on same scale)

the Parthenon/mosque of Sultan Mehmed Fatih on the Acropolis, which had no waqf of its own. Its *ḥatīb*, imam, and muezzin were paid from the *jizya* taxes of the district of Athens, the usual arrangement for small sultanic foundations in the provinces. It is followed by the maşjid of Yunus Voyvode in the lower town, the maşjid and school of Memi Çelebi ibn Tur Ali Aga and a school (*mu'allimhâne*) of Mehmed Aga. A number of very small waqfs provided for extra Qur'an recital in the Acropolis mosque as well as for support of the small waqfs in the lower town.³⁴ There is no sign whatsoever of a Fethiye mosque.

This should be enough to declare the Fethiye Camii of Fatih Sultan Mehmed in the lower town of Athens a “ghost mosque,” but there is still another reason to vanquish forever the myth that this mosque is the oldest example of the quatrefoil plan. The popular wisdom in Athens had it that the Fethiye mosque had previously been the church of the Panaghia tou Staropazarou, or Church of the All Holy (Virgin Mary) of the Wheat Market—*stari* here being the local pronunciation of *sitari* (wheat), and not *staro* (“old” in Slavic)—and it was said to be a Byzantine building. As early as 1929, George Sotiriou and Anastasis Orlandos showed the theory to be groundless: the building was not Byzantine but definitely Ottoman.³⁵

Evliya Çelebi, who was in Athens in 1667, mentions several mosques in the lower town of Athens by name and enthusiastically describes the perfect beauty of the old Greek temple on the Acropolis, now a mosque. About a Fethiye, or Fatih, mosque in the lower town he is silent.³⁶ There is, however, an anonymous Ottoman travel account preserved in a *mecmû'a* in the Oriental collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which hitherto seems to have been overlooked.³⁷ The style of writing of this text is late eighteenth century. The fact that it describes the citadel of Kara Baba overlooking the town of Eğriboz (the city of Chalkis, 36 km east of Thebes) which was built immediately after the unsuccessful siege of Venice in the autumn of 1687, places it definitely after 1687 (and before 1821, when the Ottoman period came to an end there). A note toward the end of the text gives “*işbu sene-i 1221*” (1797). This text, written by a dervish traveler, narrates a story which had taken place long ago to explain how a Christian church, as the result of a conflict between the two religious communities in Athens, was converted to a mosque. A qadi had been responsible for the action, and therefore the building became known as “*kađı cāmi'i*.” The local Athenian Christians

had complained to the Porte in Istanbul but in the ensuing legal struggle the qadi won the case. The building in question stood, according to our text, in the Corn Market (“*cāmi'-i mezkūr kapısı önünde haftada bir def'a buğday pazarı kurulur fukārā dād u sitād eylerler*”). The qadi in question then added a mihrab, minbar, and minaret and provided for a waqf. This church can only be the Panaghia tou Staropazarou, on the site of which the Fethiye mosque now stands.

In 1676, Dr. Jacob Spon from Lyons and George Wheler, later rector of Durham University, visited Athens. After mentioning that the Christians of Athens had two hundred churches in and around the town, of which fifty were used regularly, they noted: “The Turks have five Mosques here, four in the Town and one in the Castle. The Mosque of the Bazar, in the middle of the town, is the best of them.” Later they remark:

From the Temple of Augustus . . . you will come to the Front of a building over the Street, in an Entrance fashioned like a temple. . . . Passing through this temple Eastwards you come into the Bazar, or Market-place; where on the right hand is a mosque, which, they say, was formerly the Cathedral Church. But it was rebuilt by the Turks since, and is altogether now a new fabric.³⁸

This description is specific and detailed enough to exclude all other explanations. Furthermore, the name “Fethiye mosque” is definitely an old name and not an invention of historiography. It is mentioned in 1722, in the waqfiyya for the madrasa of Ruznamçe-i Evvel Osman Efendi, the ruins of which still stand opposite the Tower of the Winds.³⁹ If we now inspect the Fethiye mosque carefully we can see that the marble frame of the entrance portal and the marble frames of the windows in the porch are covered with half-faded Ottoman inscriptions, pious wishes, and lines of poetry. A number of them are dated. The oldest is from 1080 (1669–70). Others follow closely in time. They strongly suggest that the name of the building is associated with the final conquest of Crete by the Ottomans.

In the 1797 story of our anonymous dervish the confiscation of the church is also called a “conquest.” The inter-communal tension that is echoed in the account of our anonymous traveler must be associated with the long Cretan War, which placed a severe strain on all levels of society. The old church was thus confiscated in the 1660's, knocked down soon after, and replaced with the structure we see there now. This

would immediately explain the pronounced un-Ottoman features in the architectural details—lotus capitals, round arches, round-arched windows, weak profiles—which postdate the period of classical Ottoman architecture, when the state was slowly losing its grip on the outlying provinces and local architectural practices were growing correspondingly stronger. The new mosque was called “Fethiye” to celebrate the victory in Crete in the same way as the Pammacharistos church in Istanbul was renamed the “Fethiye” to celebrate the 1590 Ottoman victory in the Caucasus.

After World War II, archaeological excavations were undertaken around the Athens Fethiye mosque. They were still going on in 2001, but remain unpublished. What we can see today are the foundations of the eastern end of a church, with a half-round central apse, flanked by two small apses, of which the southern lateral apse still remains buried under the earth or is partly under the mosque. This plan is typical for a middle-Byzantine church. The mosque stands over these ruins at an angle because it is oriented towards Mecca (here east-south-east, at 130 degrees of the compass), whereas churches are always oriented due east (90 degrees), as is required by Greek Orthodox ritual and symbolism.⁴⁰ The minaret of the mosque, of which now only the basement and a short stretch of wall remain, is not aligned in the same direction as the mosque itself. It is also not directly connected with it and evidently belongs to a different and earlier period. Ayverdi and Travlos note this on their plans but give no explanation. If one checks the orientation of the minaret-cum-wall fragment with a compass it becomes apparent that it is oriented due east, and was added to the southern lateral wall of the church. When the old church was knocked down and replaced by the mosque properly oriented towards Mecca, for pious reasons the slightly older minaret was respected. The excavated foundations of the choir of the old church in the east and the site of the minaret in the west indicate the size of the church, which must have been a basilica, for it is much too long for a normal cross-in-square plan. As basilicas, with their pronounced east-west axis, are ill-suited for the Muslim prayer, this must be the reason why it was knocked down and replaced by a new mosque soon after its conversion.⁴¹

Now we can be very sure that the Fethiye mosque of Athens was not the earliest quatrefoil building but a copy of a then fashionable plan, which just a few years before had been applied to the very prominent Istanbul Yeni Cami of the Queen Mother Valide Hadice

Turhan Sultan (1666, its foundations were laid in the 1590's).⁴² Apparently the concept of the Fethiye mosque did not come to Athens directly, but indirectly via the nearby city of Thebes, where in 1666–67, Eğribozlu Ahmed Pasha, brother of the Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet, Köse Ali Pasha of Eğriboz, had built a monumental mosque using the quatrefoil plan. It disappeared in the nineteenth century, but a relatively detailed picture of it survives on a great icon of its patron saint St. Luke in the cathedral of Thebes. On the icon the saint is depicted full size with a detailed panoramic view of “his” city in the background. The icon was painted around 1700. Evliya Çelebi described this mosque when it was just built.⁴³

The connection between the queen mother and Thebes is illustrated by the khan she had built in that town as one of the waqf possessions of her great mosque in Istanbul. The quatrefoil mosque of Eğribozlu Ahmed Pasha in Thebes was much bigger than the Athens building. It followed a variant of the plan used in the mosque of Abdurrahman Pasha in Tosya (1584). In it the two corner domes of the mihrab wall have been omitted and the half-dome of the mihrab section shaped more or less to resemble the apse of the church. Judging by its picture on the icon in the Thebes cathedral, the now vanished mosque of Thebes dominated the town⁴⁴ (now a dull and featureless place, despite its multi-millennarian history⁴⁵), just as the mosque of Abdurrahman Pasha dominated Tosya.

Finally, we should say some word about the subsequent career of the plan. After his epochal Şehzade mosque, Sinan moved to other plans. He did not come back to it, aside from its truncated version at Mihri-mah's mosque in Üsküdar, which features three half-domes like the earlier mosque in Oğuzköy and the Süleyman Pasha mosque in the Cairo citadel (early sixteenth century). Although the plan was used in Çankırı in 1558 and in Tosya in 1584, we do not know if it came there via Istanbul, or as a result of the local building tradition. The same plan was also used in the European parts of the empire, although not “throughout the Balkans,” as Grabar stated (he could only have had one example in mind, the misdated Fethiye mosque of Athens, since the prominent example in Thebes was unknown when he wrote).

Only one little known example of this mosque type in the Balkans dates from the sixteenth century, and that is the mosque of Sultan Murad III in the newly fortified town of Navarino (Pylos) on the southwestern peninsula of the Morea. The fortress town of Yeni

Anavarin (New Navarino) was built by the Ottomans as an answer to the threat of Western naval attacks after the disastrous battle of Lepanto in 1571. The pentagonal citadel, the two heavy coastal batteries, and the town walls were constructed in 1572–75. In 1576 the local Ottoman authorities petitioned the sultan to provide the new town with a masjid in the citadel and a Friday mosque in the walled town. The sultan agreed, and construction of the buildings began soon after. The correspondence about the building of the castle and the mosque is contained in the Mühimme Defters in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul and have been partly published by Gülsün Tanyeli in the *Festschrift* for Doğan Kuban.⁴⁶ The mosque is currently being restored and investigated by a student from Utrecht University.

The Navarino mosque is a very provincial version of the quatrefoil plan, but the relation with the great Istanbul buildings is evident. The plan found its greatest representatives in Istanbul, where in the post-Sinan period it was used for the initial concept of the Yeni Cami (begun in the 1590's by Valide Safiye Sultan, but completed in the mid-seventeenth century by Valide Hadice Turhan Sultan) and the famous "Blue mosque" of Ahmed I, begun in 1609.⁴⁷ That the plan remained popular and was regarded as typically Ottoman can be seen in the Houmt souk on the Tunisian island of Djerba. There, in 1640, the mosque of the Strangers (Jamaa Gureba) was enlarged. It was a Hanafi mosque for the Ottoman garrison; the bulk of the island's population was Ibadite. The older part of this mosque was built in the local tradition: seven naves run parallel to the qibla wall, covered by a flat wooden ceiling which is carried by six rows of four thin marble columns. The 1640 annex faithfully follows the quatrefoil plan, giving a typically Ottoman stamp to the very un-Ottoman architectural and human environment of Djerba.

In 1659–60, the so-called mosquée de la Pêcherie in the city of Algiers was built by the Janissary corps (*ocağ*) of the town. It is clearly inspired by the quatrefoil plan, but is even more provincial and un-Ottoman in execution than Murad III's mosque in Navarino.⁴⁸ The influence of the Istanbul Yeni Cami, then just completed, is evident. This is even more the case in another North African building from the Ottoman period, the mosque of the national saint of Tunisia, Sidi Mahrez, in the north of the old town of Tunis. It was conceived in grand style in 1692–97; the Muradi regency of Tunis under Muhammed Bey evidently

wanted to make a statement.⁴⁹ It is the most "Ottoman" building of the entire Maghribi architectural output. The quatrefoil plan was now generally accepted as being the personification of Ottoman architecture in the way Grabar phrased it.

The Thebes and Athens buildings suggest that the completion of the Yeni Cami in Istanbul in 1664 provided the major impetus for its spread. When in 1767 an earthquake knocked down the old Fatih Mehmed II mosque in Istanbul, which originally had only one half-dome over its mihrab, it was almost inevitable that it would be replaced by a grandiose quatrefoil building.⁵⁰ This in turn inspired Muhammad 'Ali to have his even bigger mosque on the citadel of Cairo constructed according to a plan that had become the most recognizable symbol of imperial power. For the same reasons it was also used in the mid-nineteenth century when the main mosque of the great Syrian city of Homs was reconstructed. The plan had its origin in the creative reformulating of a combination of influences, in which local Anatolian ones definitely played a role. Not Athens, but Anatolia was the cradle of one of the most successful and expressive of all building concepts in Islamic architecture.

*University of Utrecht
Utrecht, The Netherlands*

NOTES

Author's note: This article is one of the products of an academic year at Harvard University under the aegis of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture. The research in the Turkish archives and libraries and in the field which forms its base was sponsored by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Scientific Research (Z.W.O./N.W.O) in The Hague, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) in Bonn.

1. Ulya Vogt-Göknül, *Türkische Moscheen* (Zurich, 1953), p. 38.
2. Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times* (London, 1959), pp. 24–28.
3. For the old Fatih mosque, see E. H. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (Istanbul, 1973), pp. 356–406. For the Edirne and Tire buildings, idem, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Murad Devri* (Istanbul, 1972), pp. 377–81 and 542–48. The dates for the waqfiyya, but not the completion of the Edirne and Tire buildings, are given in the foundation inscription. Also see İnci Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit* (Ankara, 1978).
4. For the itinerary of the 'Iraqayn campaign, see İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahl Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1971), pp. 167–81; or the beautifully illustrated *Beyân-i menâzil-i sefer-i 'Iraqeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân* of Matrâkî Nasuh, ed. Hüseyin Yurdaydın (Ankara, 1976), which was completed in 1537.

5. Metin Sözen, "Hacı Hamza'daki Türk Eserleri," in *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1970), pp. 113–34. Before Sözen, the Oğuzköy mosque was noted by Mahmud Goloğlu in his little-known work *Paphlagonia* (Istanbul, 1948).
6. Published as 438 *Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri* (937/1530), vol. 2, *Bolu, Kastamonu, Kengiri ve Koca-ili Livaları* (Ankara, 1994). For the essential data on the life of Çoban Mustafa Pasha, see Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i 'Osmani*, vol. 4 (Istanbul, 1311 H.), p. 372. For his magnificent Gebze buildings, see Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), pp. 189–91. Many more details are included in Fatih Müderrisoğlu, "Bâni Çoban Mustafa Paşa ve bir Osmanlı şehri Gebze," in *Vakıflar Dergisi* 25 (Ankara, 1995), pp. 67–124.
7. Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 175, n. 155; Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture*, pp. 24–28, states that the mosque was given its present form by Alaüddevl. He does not seem to have visited it, since he mistakes the four lateral vaults for half-domes because of the thick plaster used in their restoration. They were originally elliptic vaults supported on squinches and the sustaining arches of the central dome.
8. For examples in Central Asia, see Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture*, n. 156, where he mentions the ninth-century Degaron mosque in the village of Hazara near Bukhara, published by Yuri Yaralov, "Architectural Monuments of Middle Asia of the Eighth to Eleventh Centuries," in *First International Congress of Turkish Art* (Ankara, 1959), p. 367, and a few less obvious examples.
9. Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 177–78.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 207. For the Fatih Pasha mosque in Diyarbakır, see Metin Sözen, *Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1971), pp. 65–69 and 260–63, with older literature in French, German, and Turkish.
11. Heinz-Jürgen Sauermost and Wolf-Christian von der Mülb, *Istanbul Moscheen* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1981), pp. 116–17. I was unable to find any further literature on the mosque of Piri Pasha at Hasköy, and Professor Baha Tanman of Istanbul University has since told me that he and his collaborators had made a special study of the area, and that the mosque of Piri Pasha in fact no longer exists. It is mentioned in Hüseyin Ayvânsarayî's *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi'*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1281 [1864–65]), 1: 308, and by Tahsin Öz, in *İstanbul Camileri*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1962–65), 1: 115. There is a mosque of Keçeci Piri in the Hasköy-Sütlüce district on the Golden Horn, but the founder was no pasha and his mosque is built entirely of wood and has no domes whatsoever. Godfrey Goodwin saw the eighteenth-century *lengerhâne* (factory), a building in poor repair which was indeed used as a depot. It still exists and has a central dome on four piers, four small domes at the four corners, but instead of real half-domes the four remaining sections are covered with cradle-vault-like groin vaults. It is exactly the same building type as the Mevlevi-hane of Kilis and (Gazi) Antep in southern Turkey and the nearby Halep in Syria. The Hasköy *lengerhâne* has, on the basis both of style and of construction techniques, to be dated ca. 1740. It is, according to Tanman, definitely an eighteenth-century work. In a letter of November 2001, Godfrey Goodwin wrote that he agreed with the identification of Piri Pasha's mosque proposed by Tanman. When he visited the building in the 1960's it was very dirty and filled with tobacco and therefore unsurveyable; and when offered the *lengerhâne* option he accepted it wholeheartedly. The mosque of Piri Pasha in Hasköy, Istanbul is thus a simple misidentification and is definitely not the link between Diyarbakır and the Istanbul Şehzade mosque. The *lengerhâne* was restored a few years ago and is now a part of the Rahmi Koç Sanayi Müzesi. There remains the Fatih Pasha mosque in Diyarbakır, the direct source of inspiration for the quatrefoil plan, once the Piri Pasha in Hasköy has been removed as intermediary.
12. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde: Çelebi ve II. Murad Devri* (Istanbul, 1972), pp. 136–50, with plans, section, the inscriptions, and numerous photographs. It is thirty years since Ayverdi wrote about this majestic building, and it is still in a shameful state of neglect.
13. For the Edirne Eski Cami, also see Ayverdi, *Çelebi ve II. Murad Devri*, pp. 150–60. During the recent restoration (in 2000, still not completed) the lovely and colorful interior of this mosque, with its fine wall paintings in the style of the Ottoman baroque, was totally destroyed and replaced by a dull and lifeless decoration in two colors: coffee with and coffee without milk. It is difficult to say which is worse, Greek neglect as in Dimetoka, or Turkish "restoration" as in Edirne. For the tree-ring data, see Peter Kuniholm, "Dendrochronologically Dated Ottoman Monuments," in *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire, Breaking New Ground*, ed. Uzi Baram and Lynda Carrol (New York, 2000), pp. 93–135.
14. Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1986), Diyarbakır, Fatih Pasha Camii (of Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha, 1515–20), pp. 152–54; Elbistan (Dulkadirli Ali Bey, 1515–22), pp. 154–55.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 182–83.
16. Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* (Istanbul and Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 67–68.
17. *Ibid.* In his notes he refers to Sözen's important work, *Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi*, pp. 65–69.
18. Ulya Vogt-Göknül, *Sinan* (Tübingen and Berlin, 1993), p. 22.
19. *Ibid.*, n. 10.
20. Doğan Kuban, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye* (Istanbul, 1997), p. 68.
21. M. Taşdemir, "Elbistan," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11 (Istanbul, 1995), pp. 1–3.
22. Refet Yınanç, *Dulkadir Beyliği* (Ankara, 1986), pp. 121–22. For a list of Alaüddevl's buildings, see *ibid.*, pp. 119–53. The waqfiyya of one of Alaüddevl's mosques in Elbistan is preserved in the archives of Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara and is dated 1501.
23. For a short description and some very good photographs of the Tosya mosque, see Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, pp. 300–1. The article "Çankırı" in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* states that the mosque was built in 1557–58; in his *History of Ottoman Architecture*, Goodwin (p. 177) points to difficulties: "A problem is the mosque at Çankırı which is said to have been begun in 1522 and completed in 1558, a quite inexplicable length of time. It is a centralized mosque with four semi-domes which are slightly pinched because they are set above pointed and not semicircular arches. It would look if at first they were, or were intended to be, vaults, in which case the mosque would be a logical and grander successor to that of Elbistan. . . . The damage by earthquake was such that the

- repairs in 1302/1884 were partly a rebuilding....” Goodwin took the two different dates from a Turkish work, cited as Yalçın, *Çankırı*, p. 10. The date of the major repair is in another inscription on the mosque. Whether it is 1522 or 1558 (which fits better) is irrelevant for our theme. After the earthquake the building was not changed fundamentally but remained a quatrefoil plan.
24. Günkut Akın, “Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu’daki Tarihsel Ev Tiplerinde Anlam,” Ph.D. diss., Istanbul Technical University, 1985. Also in his *Asya Merkezî mekân Geleniği* (Ankara, 1990), pp. 194–98 (with other examples outside Turkey). Neziğ Başgelen, *Bir Doğu Anadolu Köyünün Kültürel Geçmişi Üzerinde Araştırma: Onar Dede mezarlığı ve adı bilinmeyen bir Türk kolonizatörü şeyh Hasan Onar* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1983); and long discussions with him in Istanbul.
 25. For examples in northern Pakistan, see Peter A. Andrews and Karl Jettmar, *Sazin: A Fortified Village in Indus-Kuhistan*, Antiquities of Northern Pakistan (Mainz: Ph. v. Zabern Verlag, 2000), p. 152, with many detailed drawings and plans. I would like to thank Dr. Andrews of Cologne University for sharing with me his vast and thus far unpublished knowledge of the spread of the Kırılgaç dome.
 26. Haşım Karpuz, *Türk İslam Mesken Mimarisinde Erzurum Evleri* (Ankara, 1984).
 27. A. Xyngopoulos, “Ta Vyzantina kai Tourkika Mnimeia ton Athinon,” in G. Sotiriou, A.K. Orlandos, A. Xyngopoulos, *Heureterion ton mesaionikon mnimeion tis Ellados*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1929), pp. 116–20; and vol. 3 (1933), p. 229. Also see Orlandos, “Ergasia anastiloseos Vyzantinon mnimeion,” in *Archeion Vyzantinon Mnimeion tis Ellados*, vol. 3 (1937), pp. 203–6.
 28. Semavi Eyice, “Yunanistan’da Türk Mimarî Eserleri,” in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 11 (1954), pp. 157–64.
 29. Ioannis Travlos, *Poleodomiki exelxis ton Athinon*, 2nd ed. (Athens, [1960] 1993), pp. 181–82: “The Fethiye (the Conqueror) . . . is as it appears, one of the first mosques built by the Turks immediately after they had settled in the town.” In the same work (p. 181) he gives a plan and photograph of the mosque, accompanied by the caption, “Second half of the 15th century.” In his monumental work from 1971, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), Travlos published an excellent plan of the architectural environment of the building, accompanied with a detailed air photograph. Ayverdi (*Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri*, n. 23), writing much later, made no use of either of these excellent presentations.
 30. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri*, 3: 49–55.
 31. Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, p. 103.
 32. Nusret Çam, *Yunanistan’daki Türk Eserleri*, Türk Diyanet Vakfı (Ankara, 2000), pp. 15–19, Athens, Fethiye Camii from 1459, but with a question mark from the author to convey his doubts.
 33. S. Eyice, article “Atina,” in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4 (Istanbul, 1991), p. 78.
 34. The 1506 register is not preserved as a whole. The bulk is formed by T.D. 35 in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (henceforth BBOA) in Istanbul. A sizeable fragment was sent in the 1930’s as waste paper to Sofia, where it was not—as intended—transformed into pulp but catalogued and preserved in the National Library and recently published by Evangelia Balta in *Archeion Evoikon Meleton* (29.1990/91, pp. 55–185). Another fragment was catalogued by Ali Emiri in the early 20th century as Ali Emiri Tasnifi, Bayezid-i Sâni 04. The contents of the 1521 register was reproduced in T.D. 367 from 1528–30. The 1540 register is T.D. 431, waqfs on p. 1056. The 1570 register is preserved in Ankara and, a more accessible copy, T.D. 484 in Istanbul, BBOA. The texts of the three *tahrîrs*, showing the number of households of Athens in facsimile, have been published by M. Kiel, “Central Greece in the Süleymanic Age: Preliminary Notes on Population Growth, Economic Expansion and Its Influence on the Spread of Greek Christian Culture,” in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: École du Louvre, 1992), pp. 399–424.
 35. As late as 1953, Demetrios Sicilianos, in his history of Athens, translated by Robert Liddell as *Old and New Athens* (London, 1960), p. 236, still called the building “this fine Byzantine church, once the cathedral of Athens under the title Panayia Sotira, is . . . in the corn market of old Athens. After the fall of Athens in 1460 this church was turned into a mosque in honour of Mehmet the Conqueror.” In the Greek historiography the connection between the Fethiye Mosque and the church of the Panaya tou Staropazarou was first pointed out by Dimitrios Kambouroglou in his seminal works *Istoria ton Athinaion*, *Tourkokratia* (Athens, 1889), and *Mnimeia tis Istorias ton Athinaion epi Tourkokratias*, 3 vols. (Athens, 1889–96). Dealing with the church/mosque in vol. 2 (pp. 177 and 179) of his *Mnimeia*, Kambouroglou suggests (but does not write) that the church was converted into a mosque shortly after the conquest of the city in 1456. It was the Orthodox cathedral of the city because after 1204 the Frankish rulers used the former cathedral, the Parthenon temple, as a Roman Catholic church. Kambouroglou’s source was the detailed travel account of Spon and Wheler from 1675–76 (see infra, n. 38). One has the impression that the confiscation of the church and subsequent rebuilding as a mosque in 1669–70 was locally entirely forgotten.
 36. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, vol. 8 (Istanbul, 1928), p. 450. I also checked Evliya’s autograph copy, Bagdat Köşkü 303, in the Topkapı Palace Library, but there are no important differences.
 37. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement turc 1027, fols. 123b–124a. I am currently working on an edition of this rare text.
 38. J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant* (Lyons, 1678); separately published, with other details as George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece in Company of Dr. Spon of Lyon* (London, 1682). Especially the first version was a bestseller in its time and was translated into Dutch, German, Swedish, and other languages. The quotation is from p. 391.
 39. Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, Haremeyn I, Defter 734, sıra 141, fols. 137b–139b. I am currently preparing this document—interesting for its information on Islamic life in Athens—for publication.
 40. Most important is that the first light of the day, symbolizing the rising of Christ from the dead, falls on the altar where his mystery is celebrated in the mass. For details, see Leonid Ouspenskij, “Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes,” in *Symbolik der Religionen*, ed. F. Herrmann, vol. 10 (Stuttgart 1962), pp. 56–62.

41. A different opinion on the origin of the Athens Fethiye mosque is expressed by Dimitris N. Karidis in his dissertation, "Poleodomika ton Athinon tis Tourkokratias," Athens University, 1981, p. 275; he states that there is no evidence of a Greek Orthodox cathedral in the Athens Corn Market; Spon and Wheler had merely confused it with another church nearby. The church ruins underneath the Fethiye mosque are from a much older church, which was ruined centuries before. The site, at the crossing of two of the most important streets in Ottoman Athens was chosen for the deliberate urbanistic purpose of having a dominating structure at this important locus. As these streets no longer exist (they have been dug away by archaeologists), Karidis gives detailed reconstruction plans for the original site. He explains the non-aligned minaret as a survival of an older, perhaps sixteenth-century mosque, and regards the story of the dervish traveler from 1790 as pious folklore. It could also be argued that the story heard by Spon and Wheler echoes the local memory that a church had long ago existed on the site where the mosque was about to be built. This theory has the historiographic tradition of more than a century against it, but has the advantage of doing away with the painful event for the local Christians of losing their cathedral church. That this event left no trace in the memory of the Athenians and was "discovered" by Kambouroglou as late as the end of the nineteenth century, supports Karidis's theory. The theory does not affect the conclusion that the mosque dates from the 1660's.
42. For this grand building, see Sauermost and von der Mülbe, *Istanbul Moscheen*, pp. 200–5; "İstanbul Yeni Cami ve Hünkar Kasrı," *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları* (Istanbul, [ca. 1985]), a publication of the waqfiyya of this great foundation with a vast number of illustrations. Also see Doğan Kuban, "Yeni Cami Külliyesi," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (Istanbul, 1994), pp. 464–67, and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, "The Yeni Valide Complex at Eminönü," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 58–70.
43. For the icon in Thebes and the great mosque of Ahmed Pasha, see M. Kiel, "The Icon and the Mosque, Orthodox Christian Icon Paintings as a Method to Retrieve the Lost Ottoman Architectural Heritage of the Southern Balkans," in *Aptullah Kuran için Yazılar*, ed. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (Istanbul, 1999), pp. 223–32; published in English as *Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran* (Istanbul, 2000), pp. 230–45.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
45. It was in Thebes that Europe got its name when, according to ancient Greek mythology, a Phoenician princess from Tyre named Europa was abducted to Greece by Zeus, resulting in a Phoenician intervention under her brother Kadmos. Most philologists regard the name Kadmeia, of the acropolis hill of Thebes, as being of Semitic origin. The stronghold was built by Kadmos, after he became king of Thebes. The name Kadmos is taken as proof of a Semitic Phoenician invasion of Greece in prehistoric times.
46. Gülsün Tanyeli, "Bir osmanlı Kale-Kentinin Yapım: Anavarin Örneği," in *Prof. Doğan Kuban Armağanı*, ed. Z. Ahunbay, D. Mazlum, K. Eyüpgiller (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 85–93.
47. Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 342–49. Sauermost and von der Mülbe, *Istanbul Moscheen*, pp. 206–14. A mass of details on the construction of this mosque can be found in Zeynep Nayır, *Birinci Ahmet Külliyesi* (Istanbul, 1975); and Howard Crane, ed. and trans., *Risâle-i Mi'mariyye: An Early-Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987).
48. For photographs and description of this building, see George Marçais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne et Sicile* (Paris, 1954), pp. 430, 433–34. More detailed is R. Dokali, *Les mosquées de la période turque à Alger* (Algiers, 1974).
49. Slimane Zbiss, "Des aspects tunisiens de l'art turc," in *Communications of the First International Congress of Turkish Art* (Ankara, 1961), pp. 377–81, and photographs on pl. CCXCIV; idem, "Les monuments religieux dans l'architecture turc de Tunisie," in *Atti del Secondo Congresso internazionale di arte turca* (Naples, 1965), pp. 395–96. See especially Ahmed Saadaoui, "Une architecture turque en Tunisie: La mosquée de Muhammad Bey (1675–1696)," *IBLA: Revue des Belles Lettres Arabes* 185 (2000–1): 3–31.
50. Sauermost and von der Mülbe, *Istanbul Moscheen*, pp. 214–24; Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 394–95.